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Should the President Be Elected By the Direct Vote of the People?

A radio discussion over WGN and the Mutual Broadcasting System in conjunction with the Committee on Debate Materials and Interstate Cooperation of the National University Extension Association

ED GOSSETT

United States Representative from Texas

MAYNARD KRUEGER

Associate Professor of Economics, University of Chicago

NORMAN THOMAS

Author, Lecturer, Former Candidate for the Presidency on the Socialist Ticket

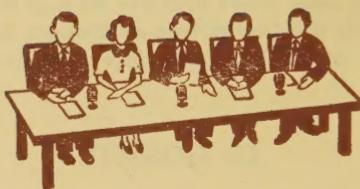
ROLAND YOUNG

Associate Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University

Moderator: JAMES H. McBURNEY

Dean, The School of Speech, Northwestern University

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THE REVIEWING STAND is a weekly radio forum presented by Northwestern University. The program was first broadcast by Station WGN, Chicago, October 14, 1934. It has been on the air continuously since that time, originating in the WGN studios, and, since 1935, carried by the stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System. THE REVIEWING STAND presents members of the Northwestern University faculty and distinguished guests from business, government, education, and the press in round table discussions of contemporary problems—the questions that are in the news. The program is under the direction of James H. McBurney, Dean of the School of Speech, Northwestern University and Miss Myrtle Stahl, Director of Educational Programs, WGN, Chicago.

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Should the President Be Elected By the Direct Vote of the People?

MR. MCBURNEY: Election of the President by direct vote of the people is the problem being discussed by high school debaters throughout the nation. This broadcast inaugurates the annual debates which continue through the winter under the direction of the state high school debating leagues. The Reviewing Stand is glad to cooperate with the Committee on Debate Materials and Interstate Cooperation of the National University Extension Association in this fine educational enterprise.

Krueger, I wish you would tell us how the President is elected under our present electoral system.

Present Electoral System

MR. KRUEGER: He is elected by so-called electors. Each state has a number of electors equal to the number of Representatives it has in the House and Senate. Each state determines for itself who is eligible to vote. Customarily the entire electoral vote of any one state goes to one single candidate. In case no candidate for President has a majority of the electoral vote, the election is determined by the House of Representatives where each state delegation has one vote.

MR. MCBURNEY: Do you have anything to add to that, Young?

MR. YOUNG: I think it is a clear statement certainly. However, I think it should be pointed out also that the whole effectiveness of the electoral college depends on the electors being faithful to their trust. In other words, these electors can vote for whomever they please. In Tennessee last year one did. The electoral system does depend upon the faithful carrying out of the pledge of the electors.

MR. MCBURNEY: Now with this brief explanation before us, I should like to ask Mr. Thomas to speak directly to the question: Should the President be elected by the direct vote of the peo-

ple? By transcription, Mr. Norman Thomas:

MR. THOMAS: Of course the President of the United States should be elected by direct vote of the people. There should be uniform rules under which various political parties may place Presidential nominees on the ballots of all states. We should either elect the President by preferential ballot or have a run-off election between the two highest candidates if no man should have a majority.

'Favors Unpopulated States'

If American democracy were making a fresh start in drawing up its Constitution, no politician or editor would dream of proposing any other plan for election. It would never occur to the people of a thinly populated state that they were entitled to six or seven times as much weight in electing a President as the people in the more populous states. Every legitimate right of the less populous states is very amply protected by equality of representation in the United States Senate.

Yet, because the great men who drew up our Constitution were a little suspicious of the people and established a complicated, indirect way of electing the President, we are forced to debate what is today an elementary right of fair play, a safeguard against the serious troubles that might eventuate should the machinery of the electoral college force upon the country a Presidential candidate soundly defeated in the popular vote.

The course of events from the beginning defeated the intention of the framers of the Constitution. They dreamt that it would be possible for the voters in the different states to select wise and disinterested individuals who would then proceed to choose the best man for President.

That sort of thing has never worked in history and never will. It is com-

pletely opposed to the principle of responsible popular government by parties upon which our modern democracy depends. Parties immediately began to operate and the electoral college became their butt. Several times we have had Presidents who did not have a plurality in the popular vote and once, when Hayes was finally chosen over Tilden, the process led us close to civil war.

'Difficulties Frequent'

In 1948, for a few hours, it looked as if Governor Dewey might be elected by a majority of the electoral college, although it was evident that he was lagging behind Mr. Truman in the popular vote. A shift of fewer than 30,000 votes in the states of Ohio, California and Illinois would have thrown the election to Mr. Dewey, although Mr. Truman would still have had a popular plurality in excess of 2 million votes. A shift of 20,000 votes would have thrown the election into the House of Representatives, where each state, regardless of the immense differences in population, would have had one vote.

This situation compelled Congress to pay some attention to its correction. So far Congressmen have rather contemptuously rejected the only decent idea, popular election. Why? For one reason and only one reason that makes any sense at all. That is, they believe the 12 of the smaller states out of some kind of state pride would exercise their Constitutional power to block an amendment providing for a fair popular election. This is an insult to American fair play.

At the very least, we should try to bring home the facts in the case to the people before accepting any compromise like the Lodge - Gossett Amendment, which has considerable support in Congress. That Amendment would abolish the college of electors. While keeping the present proportional power of the states in the election, it would divide the electoral vote of each state in proportion to the popular vote. This should be an improvement. And it might tend

to break up the solid South, although some men argue that it would instead give it an increased weight in the councils of the Democratic Party. The Amendment would continue the situation under which states disfranchise Negroes, largely in consequence of which one vote in South Carolina, Mississippi or Alabama is worth from five to nine times as much as in Northern states. The Lodge-Gossett Amendment provides no protection against the election of a President in a field divided between three or four candidates who may have a plurality very far short of the majority of the popular vote. It might tend to atomize our parties into small groups.

But the real moral argument is that in any case the people of the United States should directly elect their own President, the only one for whom all of them can vote. Any other plan mocks democracy.

MR. MCBURNEY: Thank you, Norman Thomas.

Now, let's give Congressman Ed Gossett from Texas a chance to reply. Mr. Gossett doesn't like the electoral college system any better than Mr. Thomas does, but he does not support direct election by the people. By transcription, Ed Gossett of Texas.

'Evils of Present System'

MR. GOSSETT: It's a pleasure to be on this program with Mr. Norman Thomas, a gentleman whose character and intellect I very greatly respect. It was a pleasure to have Mr. Norman Thomas as a witness before our Judiciary Committee when we were considering this question some months ago.

To restate briefly the evils of the existing system, let me enumerate what I think to be its cardinal vices. First, the system under which we select Presidents—the manner in which we choose electors, the way in which they vote and their votes are cast and counted, the possibilities of throwing elections into the House of Representatives—is an open invitation to fraud and chicanery and unless changed is one day going to result in disaster.

In the second place, the electoral college confines Presidential elections largely to a few pivotal states.

In the third place, the electoral college confines the field of Presidential possibilities, the candidates being selected, from these same pivotal states.

In the fourth place, the electoral college permits and invites and encourages irresponsible control and domination, if you please, by organized minority groups within the aforesaid pivotal states.

In the fifth place, the electoral college deprives great masses of our very best citizens of the educational benefits and of the civic benefits of participating in Presidential elections: the campaigns are not conducted in large sections of the country—except in a nominal way.

In the sixth place, the electoral college places a President elected under it under terrible obligations to these minority groups upon whom he must depend for election.

Now, Mr. Thomas suggests that we abolish the electoral college, the electoral vote, and that we elect Presidents by a direct popular vote. He admits, as I think most people do, the evils of the existing system. However, the proposal of Mr. Norman Thomas, while curing many of the present evils, would create many new ones as serious, if not more serious, than the existing evils.

In the first place, one of the reasons that we want to abolish the electoral college is to eliminate sectionalism. Now, to elect a President by a direct popular vote—to discard the electoral vote entirely—would aggravate and not alleviate sectionalism. If, for example, there were some sectional issue, as there most always would be, between say, Texas and New York, then the great state of New York would get out millions upon millions of votes. They would vote their dogs and their cats and their dead grandmothers. We in Texas to retaliate would do the same thing. Both of us would be subject to accusations of fraud. We would have federal investigations of these national cam-

paigns, and endless confusion and injustices would follow.

Now in the second place, a direct popular vote would eliminate state lines. Voting, then, would become a matter of national sovereignty. Each state would have to reduce its voting requirements to the lowest common denominator. The state of Georgia, for example, has an 18-year voting limit. If we had a direct popular vote, to be on a parity with Georgia all states would have to reduce their voting age to 18. The direct voting proposal would simply rub out state lines.

Gossett-Lodge Amendment

Now, a much better system is that proposed by the Gossett-Lodge Amendment, an amendment of which I happen to be the author in the House. It would abolish the electoral college, a fictitious college. It would abolish electors. It would retain, however, the electoral vote and divide the electoral vote on an exact ratio with the popular vote.

In other words, if the Republican candidate got 33-1/3 per cent of the popular vote in Texas, he would get 33-1/3 of our 23 electoral votes. Everybody's vote would count, and it would count for the person for whom he cast it.

The Gossett-Lodge Amendment, in other words, would eliminate the evils and the vices of the present system and it wouldn't entail any of the evils of the direct popular vote.

Then, as a practical matter, we submit that the proposal of Mr. Thomas would never be ratified by the states because the small states, the sparsely settled states, would lose some of their relative voting strength under the direct voting proposal. So it comes down simply to this: Our system must be changed in the interest of national safety. The best and the most practical way is to abolish the electoral college and the electors and to divide the electoral vote in the exact ratio with the popular vote.

MR. MCBURNEY: Thank you, Ed Gossett.

Now, Professors Krueger and Young,

where do you gentlemen stand on this question? Krueger?

MR. KRUEGER: I am glad to see the electoral college abolished, whether by one method or another. I think there is a better and a poorer method of doing it, a better and a poorer substitute for it; and I think the Thomas proposal answers all of my major questions about what ought to be done. The Gossett proposal answers only one of them. So I am for the Thomas proposal as against either the present system or the Gossett Amendment.

'New Evils'

MR. YOUNG: The electoral college is really a fabulous institution. No one likes it, and yet it seems to me that any proposal to change it would lead to more trouble than we now have. The proposals here deal with methods of counting votes, and that seems to be not the heart of the issue at all. It seems to me one should change the system of electors from men to units. One should change also the system of the House electing a President right now. On the other hand, the present method of the electoral college does provide for the two-party system and ordinarily works very well indeed.

MR. KRUEGER: You think it is possible, then, Young, to get rid of the electors using some much more mechanical system of getting the results recorded than going through these crazy motions of having these electors on the ballots, and in a lot of states, having them meet in the state capitols.

MR. YOUNG: Certainly the electors now are very artificial.

MR. KRUEGER: It seems to me, however, that there are some more important issues involved that I don't find answered in your position. I would like to see the voting strength of the various sections of the country much more nearly proportional, completely proportional to the number of votes that actually get cast. I don't want to see the various states able to disfranchise people and have the people who do the disfranchising rewarded by getting

in their hands the political strength of the people who are deprived of the vote.

MR. YOUNG: Krueger, I have a number of points to answer to that. You seem to believe that somehow the President is not now representative, that if the votes were counted in some other fashion that the President would somehow be representative. It seems to me that is one of the fallacious arguments underlying the move to amend the electoral college, because if you do change the representation you will change the party strength in the states and make it more difficult for any one party to get a majority. I will show you what I mean by that, Dean McBurney. If you have two candidates the chance of one receiving a majority is very great indeed. If you have more than two the chance of a party or a man getting a majority is slight. If you have three or four or five it is going to be increasingly difficult for any one man to have a majority. So what you are attempting to do is to splinter the vote to make it easier for a minority to be elected rather than a majority candidate.

Election by Direct Vote

MR. McBURNEY: We have raised our first issue here: Will election by direct vote insure a majority President? You have heard Young's position on that Krueger; what do you say to that?

MR. KRUEGER: I think you are going to have, have had, and ought to have commonly more than two candidates for the Presidency. I think it is true that if you determine who is elected simply by taking the total vote cast in the whole country, adding it all up together rather than by states, and award the Presidency to the man who gets a majority—and if nobody gets a majority on the first choice count second choices—if you do it that way I think there will be more cases than there has been in which there was no one man got a majority of first choices. But there is a quite adequate means of determining who has a majority when you take second choices

into consideration—and you have to do this in order to get any candidate agreed upon for President.

MR. YOUNG: Mr. Krueger, why would you want to substitute for our present system a method which would decrease the possibility of any one candidate having a majority? The electoral system is geared to giving one candidate a majority. That is the most effective part of it. Now you want to abolish that and provide a system where a minority would be elected.

MR. KRUEGER: No, I think you are wrong on that.

MR. YOUNG: You would have to have either a preferential ballot or a second election. Why are you sure that this method is going to give a more representative system than the kind we now have? Should we not go back to the beginning and talk about party responsibility, how Presidents get nominated, rather than accentuating the mere counting of ballots. I cannot see how you can get a more representative President merely by changing the system of counting the ballots.

MR. KRUEGER: I am not talking about that.

More Representative?

MR. YOUNG: That is the issue, is it not, if you want to get a representative President? You cannot get a more representative President by changing the method of counting the ballots.

MR. KRUEGER: If we could change the subject of this morning's discussion there is nothing I would like better than to go into that question of what should be done in order to avoid this situation where the man who gets nominated is frequently the man that nobody particularly wanted, is not the first choice of any very substantial group. But that isn't the subject of the discussion. We are talking about how the votes should be cast and counted in determining the outcome of an election. And I would like to see a system by which you can make sure that the man who is President has a majority preference expressed for him which isn't guaranteed under

the present electoral college, isn't guaranteed at all under the Gossett Amendment.

MR. MCBURNEY: How are you going to get that under this direct vote you propose, Krueger? Young's point here is that you might very well under your proposal have a minority President, and indeed to avoid it you might have to run off a second election.

MR. KRUEGER: You wouldn't have to have a run-off, a second election. You can handle it on the first ballot with a preferential ballot, and the people of this country are smart enough to mark a preferential ballot—don't tell me that is any great stretch of the imagination. People should be able to mark a first choice among a group of candidates and then proceed to say, if this man cannot use my vote, my second choice among the others is this other fellow.

'Minority Power'

MR. YOUNG: Krueger, what you are doing, of course, is giving the power to determine the Presidency to a minority. You are not proposing a plan for majority representation at all, but a plan by which these various minorities, which will have some votes and which will be given some representation, in both the Gossett plan and the Thomas plan, could influence the election of a President.

MR. MCBURNEY: How would they exercise that power, Young?

MR. YOUNG: If a candidate, say, under the Lodge-Gossett plan did not have a majority I believe the Gossett plan now would allow a minority President. Under your plan, with either a preferential ballot or a second election it would be possible then for the minority to make certain demands in order to get their votes. In other words, you increase the possibility of minority parties to bludgeon the majority parties. It is not a majority proposal but one that tends to increase the strength of small, well-knit minorities.

MR. KRUEGER: If we are going to require a majority for election, and I

think it is important that the President of the United States with all the power that there is in that office, have a majority choice expressed for him—if we are going to do that, and if there is in the minds of the general electorate no single majority preference for any one man, I see no way in the world by which you can avoid settling the question by taking into consideration the opinions of the people other than the people who do not themselves make up the majority.

MR. YOUNG: I have the answer for that. We have the Labor government in England. You have a choice between one party or the other. May I ask you whether you believe the Labor party has the support of the majority or not?

MR. KRUEGER: I think that in the last election they fell in the popular vote just a little short of a majority.

MR. YOUNG: It was elected by a minority?

MR. KRUEGER: In the sense of popular vote, yes.

MR. YOUNG: Would you not allow the same thing to happen in this country with regard to the election of a President? A man may have a minority of the popular vote and still have a majority of the electoral vote, a majority President.

British System

MR. KRUEGER: The answer to that is clear. I think the British through their Parliament have a current check on their administration and can toss it out through a vote of "no confidence" anytime; whereas in the United States we elect a President for a fixed period of years and nothing can move him out of the position short of death or impeachment, and as a result . . .

MR. YOUNG: We were talking about having a President elected by the majority. It seems to me the electoral college does provide that, even though in a few cases such as Woodrow Wilson and Abraham Lincoln the President did not have a majority of the popular votes but had a majority of the electoral votes.

MR. MCBURNEY: We have been talking about this first issue: Will election by direct vote insure a majority President? I think there is a second important issue—as a matter of fact we have touched on it a bit already—will election by direct vote give us a more representative President? Young?

MR. YOUNG: Not necessarily, and indeed it is difficult to see how it could. If you give more and more representation to more minorities having all the votes count you will tend to splinter the votes. You are not electing a council: you are electing one man. If you splinter the votes there is less chance of one candidate getting a majority. Therefore I would say that you would have less chance to get a representative President, but one who represents only small groups. You will not have one necessarily representing the majority—at least it would be much more difficult.

MR. MCBURNEY: How are the sectional interests affected by these proposals? You heard Gossett's charge that a direct popular vote would aggravate and not alleviate sectionalism. Do you go along with that, Young?

Representation for Cities

MR. YOUNG: Yes, Congressman Gossett made this point. Under his plan, under the direct election plan too, you would give greater strength to those areas which had the greatest number of votes. That is, the areas which voted people in the largest percentage according to the population would have more representation than other areas. Those areas are the cities largely. I think the cities would be much more powerful than they have been in the past. To that extent certainly I think that you might get sectional appeals. There are other possibilities, of course.

MR. KRUEGER: To appeal to people for their votes in proportion to the number of people there are there does not seem to me to be a vicious thing at all. And if there are more people in the cities than there are in the country it seems to me quite reason-

able that they should have more voice in determining who should be the President of the United States.

MR. YOUNG: That is true, but let me ask you this, in any city, in a ward election if one ward voted twice as heavily as the second ward, would you give them two representatives?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, if you want . . .

MR. YOUNG: You would?

MR. KRUEGER: I wouldn't use the single distribution.

MR. YOUNG: The thing is, in this system we have only one man to elect, not a number of men. Your system is designed for a council, not one man being elected President.

MR. KRUEGER: No, if you have one man to elect, I would say he ought to be elected on the basis of a total vote cast in the unit of which he is going to be the administrative officer. But in this sectional interest business, there is one sectional interest that is involved, and that is the sectional interest of the South in preserving a one-party system and the breaking of the unit rule which would be done, by the way, by either the Gossett plan or the Norman Thomas plan. The breaking of the unit rule would, I think, put a lot more life into political parties in the South. And I think a one-party system is as bad for political life as a one-sex system is for sex life.

MR. YOUNG: I would say that the one-party system is not necessarily the result of the electoral college. I am sure the two-party system is, but you have the one-party system in Maine as well as in the South, and there are other reasons for having the one-party system other than the existence of the electoral college.

Unit Rule

MR. KRUEGER: There are historical reasons, but the continuation of the unit rule which makes it useless for Republicans to vote in the South and useless for most Democrats to vote in the general election in the South seems to me to be very discouraging to the development of genuine political life

in the South.

MR. YOUNG: I think you have overlooked the broader point, and that is that your plan does not provide for representation in Congress, say, to the same degree. You are merely electing a President. What we ought to look at certainly is a broader problem of electing a government which can govern, and there, it seems to me, you fail if you merely stress the election of a President.

MR. MCBURNEY: Krueger seems to be emphasizing this value in the direct election, as I see it, that it gives the individual voter a better chance to express himself. Is that your point?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, not only through encouraging the development of political party life in areas like the solid South, for example, but also because I think people ought to be assured in a situation in which, I think their faith in the democratic elective process shows some signs of weakening—I think people ought to be assured that the way they cast their votes determines the outcome of the election. And the way they cast their votes does not now determine the outcome of the election.

MR. YOUNG: That is a fallacious argument. You can apply that to a Congressional district, for instance, and you find that some candidates will win and some lose; some voters win and some lose. Everyone cannot win. These votes have to be discarded at some level. You would merely count everyone's vote up to the very last and then throw out all minorities except one. Everyone cannot, in other words, elect a President.

MR. MCBURNEY: Thank you, gentlemen. How would you summarize your positions here. Young, what do you say?

Summary

MR. YOUNG: I would say some reform is certainly necessary. I do not think changes in the counting of the votes is essential at this time. On the other hand, I believe that it is necessary to change the electors from men to

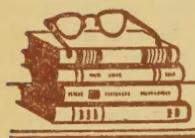
units, change the method of the House selecting a candidate in the event no candidate receives a majority and change the method by which the nominee of a national party can appear on state ballots.

MR. McBURNEY: How would you sum up, Krueger?

MR. KRUEGER: I want to see the quali-

fications for voters the same all over the country. I want to see the unit rule broken in various states, the electoral college abolished, and the country as a whole be the unit that elects the President. The Norman Thomas proposal does all of those things, the Gossett proposal does one of them.

Suggested Readings



Compiled by Barbara Wynn, Assistant, Reference Department, Deering Library, Northwestern University

CORWIN, EDWARD S. *President, Office and Powers, 1787-1948; History and Analysis of Practice and Opinion*. New York, New York University Press, 1948.

"The leading work on the American Presidency in terms of approach from the field of public law."

JOHNSEN, J. E. comp. *Direct Election of the President*. Reference Shelf, Vol. 21, No. 4. New York, Wilson, 1949.

A selection of articles, extracts from articles and Senate and House debates. Bibliography includes most of the material published on the subject up to the Fall of 1949.

KALLENBACH, JOSEPH E. *Presidential Election Reform*; Paper read at Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, April 2, 1949. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1949.

Same. U. S. House. *Committee on the Judiciary*. Hearings, February 9-25, 1949 on H. J. Res. 2 etc. (Serial No. 3) pp. 118-27.

Describes earlier plans for a reform of the electoral college system, such as that proposed by Senator Norris in 1934. Analyzes the pending Lodge-Gossett plan, and refutes the arguments against it.

LODGE, HENRY CABOT, JR. *The Electoral "College" vs. the Will of the People; The Case for Reform*. Statement of Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. of Massachusetts in the Senate of the United States, Jan. 1949. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1949.

Senator Lodge elaborates on his belief that the electoral college system is "neither fair, honest, accurate, certain, nor democratic." Statement includes representative editorial comment from the *N. Y. Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, etc.

SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR M. *Paths to the Present*. New York, Macmillan Co., 1949.

Contains an excellent discussion of the electoral system.

UNITED STATES. SENATE. *Survey of the Electoral College in the Political System of the United States*. JOSEPH JACKSON. Senate doc. No. 97. 19th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, D. C., Supt. of Docs. N. 6, '45.

A detailed, historical study.

American Bar Association Journal 35:181-4+, Mr., '49. "Presidential Elec-

tions and the Constitution; a Comment on Proposed Amendment." HERBERT WECHSLER.

Discusses the various proposals which have been made regarding reform of the electoral college system since 1789, and suggests the factors which should be considered in reaching a final decision.

American Magazine 138:34-5+, S., '44. "You Don't Elect the President." G. T. RENNER.

Shows how the states, through their electors, can reverse the verdict of American voters.

American Political Science Review 42:523-9, Je.. '49. "State Law on the Nomination, Election, and Instruction of Presidential Electors." R. C. SILVA.

Describes the variations among the states in methods used to nominate electors, and the implications of such devices as the "Presidential short ballot." Recommends several reforms.

Congressional Digest 28:193-224, Ag.-S., '49. "Congress Weighs Plans to Reform the Presidential Election Procedure."

A pro and con discussion on whether or not Congress should adopt the Lodge-Gossett bill. Text of the bill is included.

Congressional Digest 27:101-28, Ap., '48. "Revived Controversy over the Electoral College System."

Presents an organized picture of the electoral college controversy—past, present, and future.

Fortune 39:138+, Je., '49. "Lodge-Gossett Plan." H. WECHSLER.

Declares that while some of the electoral reforms it envisions are sorely needed, the Lodge-Gossett plan tries to do too much.

Forum 112:18-22, Jl., '49. "Reform the Electoral College." L. F. ALLEN.

Calling the electoral college a "constitutional museum piece" tells how the last election pointed up the dangerous aspects of the system.

New York Times Magazine p. 14+, D. 12, '48. "Electoral College Meets, but Why?" J. M. BURNS.

Declares that the electoral college system distorts the popular vote, is unfair to both minorities and majorities, can break down, either through misfortune or fraud, and can lead to violence in the settling of disputes.

Political Science Quarterly 64:1-23, Mr., '49. "Reform of the Electoral System." L. WILMERDING, JR.

Examines those features of the electoral system dealt with in the Lodge bill, and suggests certain changes in the bill.

Rotarian 75:24-5+, Jl., '49. "Should the U. S. Abolish the Electoral College?" H. C. LODGE, JR. and W. PATMAN.

Senator Lodge vs. Representative Wright Patman maintains that the Lodge-Gossett plan would greatly stimulate the formation of minority parties.

Scholastic 53:6-7, O. 6, '48. "Should We Scrap the Electoral College?"

A pro and con discussion. Opponents of the system declare that abolition of the unit rule alone would go far to remedy its defects. Supporters hold that direct Presidential election would bring a serious curtailment of States' rights.

United States News 25:44-5, Jl., 23, '48. "Politics at its Worst." DAVID LAWRENCE.

Demands that the convention system be abolished, and that the candidates for President and Vice-President be chosen by direct primaries.

Vital Speeches 14:478-80, My. 15, '48. "Our Presidential Election System." E. KEFAUVER.

Senator Kefauver holds that a reform of the electoral college system such

as that proposed in the Lodge-Gossett bill would make the parties responsible to all sections comprising them, and would reduce the ill results of a third party movement.

Yale Review 34 No. 3:385-404, Mr., '45. "Will of the People." CARL BECKER.

A noted historian defends the electoral system. Declares that the device invented by the founding fathers to nullify the will of the people in choosing a President has, in fact, turned out to be one of the devices which enables the will of the people to prevail.

Pamphlets published by *The Reviewing Stand*, Northwestern University, Evanston Illinois.

"How Important Is The Electoral College?" Vol. XI No. 15—10c each.



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